1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the record made is almost draped in the folds of acrimony and distortion.

"Standing aside from these acrimonious controversies, which deteriorate the value and reliability of conclusions drawn and opinions formulated, the unbiased course is left open for all these who seek for the most reliable information concerning an extinct race of men, of whom we know so little. Builders of mounds have existed from time to time for many centuries, in various parts of the world, but none more systematic and uniquely interesting than prehistoric man in the upper basin of the Mississippi."

Minnesota Effigies. "In 1894 in company with Dr. Shanafelt and Rev. S. Hall Young, the editor of these notes had the pleasure of exploring the remarkable Tascodiac effigies, situated in northern Minnesota at the most northerly course of the Mississippi, approximately, latitude 47 degrees, 30 minutes; longitude 94 degrees, 45 minutes, west of Greenwich."

Prehistoric Mound Near Bismarck—Not Mandan? "On the west bank of Apple creek, at the Sibley rifle-pits, near Bismarck, N. D., in July, 1895, a genuine prehistoric mound was discovered by the writer, upon section 27, township 138, range 80, west of the fifth principal meridian. The attention of Mr. Walter F. Cushing, secretary of the State Historical Society at Bismarck, was called toward this discovery. On the 12th of September last Mr. Cushing caused this mound to be excavated and explored, and the evidences were sufficient to determine that the mound was not of Mandan origin but prehistoric in all its surroundings, 1,436 miles above the mouth of the Missouri. This class of mounds are found in many parts of the two Dakota states, but systematic exploration has not yet been extended sufficiently toward the upper branches of the Missouri to certainly ascertain how far up those streams the Mound Builders extended their occupancy previous to the advent of the North American Indian."

At Head-Waters of Mississippi Branches. "It is now known as a certainty that they penetrated northward to Itasca lake and every branch of the Mississippi in its upper or head-water basin. As the Yellowstone National Park is situated immediately east of the most remote branch of the Missouri, numerous explorations near the Obsidian quarries of that wonderful locality are perti-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 of the interior and it fitted well with the descriptions here given of the old lodges. It was evidently used at the present time for a storage house, at least to some extent, and was not a regular residence, for the log cabin home of the owner stood along side of it.

"At the other hut, across the Missouri river and several miles distant from the first one, the owner refused me permission to invade it, stating that it was used for ceremonial purposes." (p. 220.)

Prototype of Sod Houses. "After my inspection of the two earthern houses mentioned, I could not but be impressed with the fact that these old Mandan and Aricaree lodges were practically the prototypes of the settler's sod house of the prairies of recent time. The sides and roofs of these huts were covered with sod chunks of regular shapes and sizes, just such as we would cut out of the prairie for the same purpose. The porch, covered entrance, or passage-way mentioned was and is a characteristic, standing feature of these earthern lodges, and one which Catlin persistently ignored both in his paintings and text. Maximilian brought out this peculiarity of the Mandan hut in his work."

417 **Ancient Ladder.** "In one of the illustrations of an earth hut there can be seen a notched pole leaning against a scaffold, the latter used now, as in old days, for drying corn, etc. This pole is one of the primitive ladders anciently used by these Indians, and, evidently, not yet entirely discarded."

Says Wheeler relative to the causes of migration of the Mandans on the upper Missouri:

●172 174 **Mandan Deserted Villages—Migrations.** "The monuments of these tribes, in the shape of abandoned and ruined huts and towns, are to be found, as has been stated, on the banks of the upper Missouri from about Heart or Cannon-Ball river, below Mandan and Bismarck, to Knife river or beyond. The Indians seem, notwithstanding the great labor involved in so doing, to have moved quite frequently, not necessarily, however, for long distances. As the Sioux harrassed them continually, these removals were due in part to a desire to protect themselves more effectually, and another reason was the scarcity of fuel and timber which in time was felt in each neighborhood. In making these removals, it was quite common, as Lewis and Clarke mention,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village**, as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East**, as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

kota. It is for us to find traces of the Mandans in South Dakota and farther southeast."

To further inquiries by the writer concerning the precise locations of various deserted Mandan and Aricaree villages explored by him, Mr. Steinbreuck responded with the following valuable details:

Mandan and Aricaree Village Sites. "I will answer your questions to the best of my knowledge. The seven villages are strung along the Missouri from about two miles below Apple creek on the east side to about three miles above Burnt creek on the same side. There are remains of Mandan villages on (SW 4, Sec. 14 T. 137 R. 80 NW 4, Sec. 2, T. 139, R. 81, NE 4, Sec. 21, T. 140, R. 81), on the east side, and on (Sec. 13, T. 138, R. 81, Sec. 35, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 27, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 33, T. 140, R. 81), on the west side.

"All those villages were found abandoned by Lewis and Clarke. Lewis and Clarke found the Mandans at the bend of the Missouri near Fort Clarke (built later during 1831-33, started by James Kipp and finished by Mitchell) a little above that fort in two villages (1804). Catlin found the Mandans there also. The Mandans and the Aricarees lived together. The smallpox epidemic was in 1837, after which the Indians moved to the Fort Berthold reservation, where the Hidatsa had gone several years prior. That is all I can tell you about the Mandans. The story goes that the Mandans and Aricarees lived together near Heart river before Lewis and Clarke's time, about twenty years before Lewis and Clarke. That is, some lived in separate villages, some lived with the Mandans. They had a quarrel and separated. Some went up the Missouri with the Mandans, to Fort Clarke, others moved down the river again to that region below the Cannon-Ball. Later, between 1804 and 1834 the balance of the Aricarees below the Cannon-Ball, became too weak, by wars and disease, to withstand the attacks of the Sioux, moved gradually up the Missouri to join their former allies, the Mandans and their own countrymen with the Mandans. This point was near Fort Clarke. There are many Aricaree villages along the Missouri, more in number, than all the Mandan village sites together. All show short time of occupation. This information is obtained by my own investigation and compared with the reports of early travelers, and especially by the study of specimens found at the differ-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old.

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states:

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583.

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Will and Hyde studied the agriculture of a number of Plains tribes which included the Mandan.[18] Their report indicated that much of the aboriginal Mandan culture could still be preserved from the knowledge of a number of the older Mandan. Densmore's study of Mandan and Hidatsa music indicated something of the rich ceremonialism shared by these two tribes.[19] Beckwith studied and recorded the folklore of the Mandan during the 1930's.[20] Although her reports by no means cover all the secular and sacred myths of this tribe, a considerable body of traditional lore was preserved and recorded during several brief visits to the tribe. Kennard studied the Mandan language in 1933 and published a report on Mandan grammar in 1936.[21]

Archeological studies have not kept pace with the ethnological studies of this important Plains tribe. The first intensive archeological study of a Mandan earth-lodge village site was made by Will and Spinden in 1905 at the Double Ditch site, the residence of the Nuptadi Mandan on the east bank of the Missouri north of Bismarck, North Dakota.[22] Subsequent studies by Strong[23] and by the writer in other documented Mandan sites of the same region show that minor cultural differences existed between Mandan sites of the same period. In 1908 Libby employed native informants to assist in the interpretation of archeological phenomena.[24] He found that lodge arrangement around an open circle was characteristic of the Mandan and Arikara villages, the latter group placing a large circular ceremonial lodge in the center of the open circle, whereas the Hidatsa practiced no particular lodge arrangement, and that the leaders of the Mandan villages lived adjacent to the village plaza. He in-

18. George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917).

19. Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* ("Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bull. 80 [Washington, 1923]).

20. Martha W. Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

21. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

22. George F. Will and H. J. Spinden, *The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Ethnology* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. III, No. 4 [Cambridge, Mass., 1906]).

23. William Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains: Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, 1940]).

24. *Op. cit.*

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dicated that La Verendrye had actually reached the Hidatsa and not the Mandan when making a winter trip to the Missouri in 1738. He based his conclusions largely on the journals of the course followed after leaving the Souris River. He believed that La Verendrye reached the Missouri River near the present town of Sanish, North Dakota. Because of the absence of large earth-lodge village ruins near Sanish, this opinion has been largely rejected by subsequent students of Mandan-Hidatsa history.

The first reference to observed temporal differences in cultures of earth-lodge sites in the area was made by Will, who wrote:

> In pursuing the above-described work an impression gradually grew that there were two rather distinct types of sites in the region, distinct enough in fact so that nearly every site could be referred readily to one or the other group. The center for one type seems to be below the Heart River, with the Huff site as perhaps the best representative. The second type is found at and above the mouth of the Heart River altogether, although the lower sites seem to overlap. . . . A reasonable conclusion therefore seems to be that the two types must represent a difference in time and culture between two periods of occupation by the same tribe. This agrees well with the historical traditions of the Mandan, and seems a fair hypothesis although much longer and more detailed work would be required to demonstrate it fully.[25]

The relative age of sites near the Heart River suggested by Will has been demonstrated to be correct by archeological explorations in the sites by Strong,[26] by Will and Hecker,[27] and by the writer. In another report the writer enumerated pottery traits and frequencies that could be used to distinguish Hidatsa sites from those of the Mandan and indicated that the sites showing pottery traits characteristic of the Hidatsa village groups were traditionally Hidatsa sites according to the information of both Mandan and Hidatsa informants.[28] Having established the frequency of pottery types characteristic of the documented Mandan sites of the early historic period, it was shown that differences in frequencies occurred between different levels within each village site and that the same changes in

25. George F. Will, *Archaeology of the Missouri Valley* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXII, Part 6 [1924]), p. 341.

26. *Op. cit.*

27. George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker, *Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota* ("North Dakota Historical Quarterly," Vol. XI [1944]).

28. Alfred W. Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172 174 popularity of pottery types were occurring simultaneously in all of the Mandan villages near the Heart River. Relative dating of sites was made on the basis of the frequency of these types. It was found that the oldest agricultural population in the area lived in a large number of small settlements situated adjacent to the wooded bottoms where agriculture could be practiced. Lodges were rectangular in outline and were frequently as large as seventy-five by thirty-five feet; floors were excavated to a depth of from three to four feet; lodges were widely scattered, and the villages were unfortified. The close similarity of pottery over a wide area extending from the mouth of Knife River to the Oahe Bend in South Dakota indicated that the first agricultural groups occupied the area over a short period of time and probably with little resistance from groups already in the area. It is hard to calculate the period of time during which the native agricultural groups occupied these early sites which in another report have been placed in the Cannonball focus. Nowhere is the refuse very deep, although the sites are generally covered with two or more feet of wind-blown sand carried out of the river bottoms. Probably not more than one hundred and fifty years would be required to account for the building and abandonment of these numerous small village sites. Shortly before A.D. 1500 the native population above the Grand reassembled into large fortified sites of the Huff focus.[29] Rectangular lodges were still being built, and we find archeological evidence, for the first time, of village plazas. Villages of this cultural horizon were rectangular in outline and were surrounded with fortifications consisting of a ditch, palisades, and bastions.

The evidence of a second agricultural population farther downstream, which has been classified as belonging to the Lower Grand focus or culture, indicates that the Mandan were in A.D. 1500 divided into two regional groups. The division of the Mandan into two groups is consistent with native traditions that, when the southern group moved northward to the vicinity of Heart River, they found other Mandan already living there. The archeological evidence indicates that the southern group were first to adopt the circular earth lodge and that the north-

29. George F. Will, *Tree Ring Studies in North Dakota* (Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 338 [Fargo, 1946]).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ern group adopted it between 1550 and 1600, retaining a modified rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes thereafter until the native population moved onto the Reservation. Whereas emphasis was on cord-impressed pottery at the Heart River, the southern group emphasized incised pottery. As contacts between the two groups increased when the southern group moved northward, the frequency of cord wares increased. According to tradition, the Awigaxa Mandan were last to abandon the Grand River region and move onto the Missouri at Painted Woods. There they adopted the Okipa with the prescribed lodge arrangement around an open circle, but we find that in these traditional sites the frequency of cord wares never equaled that of the northern Mandan.

The earlier earth-lodge sites occupied by the various Hidatsa village groups, though generally showing close similarity in traits to those of the Mandan, have a few diagnostic differences. These are an abundance of check stamped pottery, considerable cord-roughened wares, absence of fortifications with ditch and bastions, and lack of lodge orientation within the village. The sites on the Missouri River that can be identified as having been occupied by the Hidatsa groups from native traditions, and these diagnostic traits, are neither numerous nor of long occupation. With two exceptions, the sites are situated north of the Heart River. Downstream from the mouth of the Knife River, the villages consisted of clusters of earth lodges occupied during the summer months while practicing agriculture. Earth-lodge villages are generally absent along the Missouri upstream from the mouth of Knife River; in that region cultural manifestations are found in thin lens-shaped deposits, suggesting that temporary shelters, probably hide tepees, were used. These sites, both earth lodge and temporary, which can be identified with the historic Hidatsa and Crow groups, have been classified as belonging to the Painted Woods focus. Similar sites are also found on the Sheyenne River to the east from which these groups traditionally moved to the Missouri. Studies of pottery at Awatixa, the longest occupied site of the Hidatsa, indicate that, whereas the lower levels show close ties with the Shultz site on the Sheyenné, the late prehistoric and early historic levels show closest ties to that of the Mandan. None of the sites

2. Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and period of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

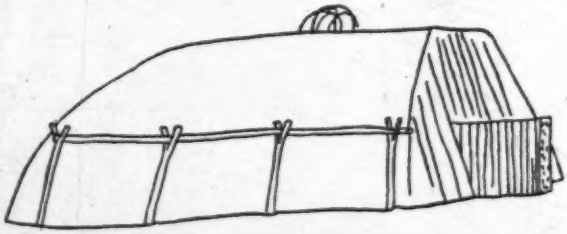

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, leaving only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation as to age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limited area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams (see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country (see Fig. 28).

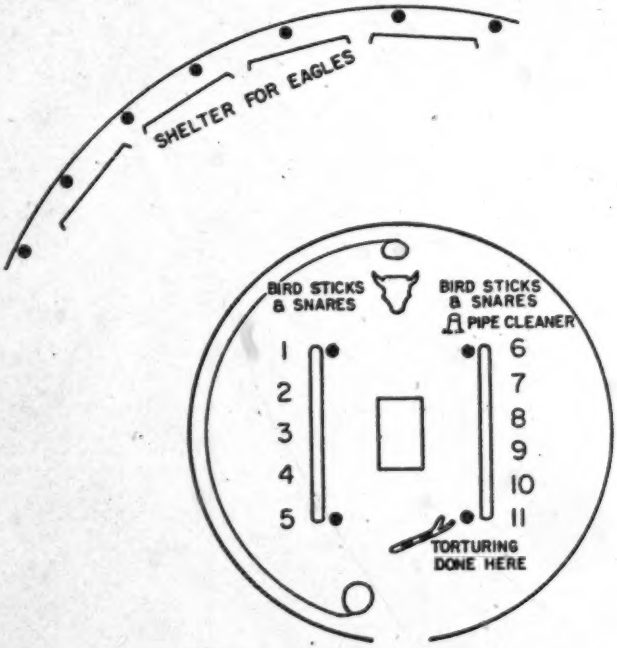

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds.

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied

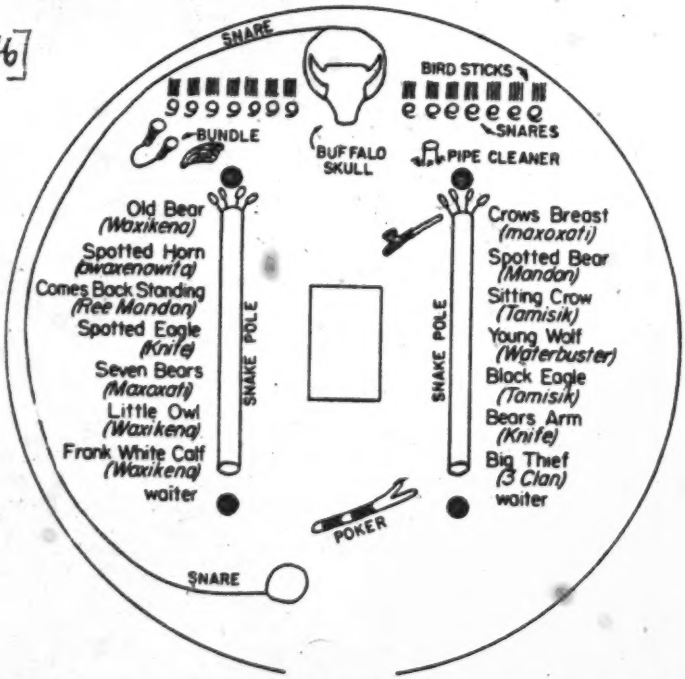

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a white stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented where a couple of figures, very clumsily made of skins, were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies.[7]

Catlin, who describes similar skull circles and mounds, writes:

When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relatives having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles. . . . There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of three feet high, on which uniformly rests two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.[8]

778 ●172 Catlin refers to the frequent visits to these shrines by the women, which was verified by Calf Woman. She added that the single mound and offering was to Sun's sister, one of the evil Holy Women. People sometimes placed skulls around her shrine also. This practice of assembling fasting shrines composed of images, mounds, and skulls was employed by the Hidatsa after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village and was reported by both Wolf Chief and Bears Arm. Whether this practice was employed at the Knife River villages has not as yet been determined by actual archeological investigations. The Heart River Mandan sites have an abundance of disarticulated human bones, other

7. Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

8. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 151–53.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, or shallow graves.

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman thought that it was because they did not want their gardens burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn. (People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men away on the warpath.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 After Catlin comes Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied.[1] During the winter of 1833–4 he passed several months among the Mandans, and has given us a minute and accurate account of the manners and customs of the people in so far as he observed them. In addition he has given one of the best vocabularies of Mandan and almost the only grammatical sketch of that language. This, though incomplete, is of great value. There is nothing romantic and imaginative in Maximilian's style and treatment of the Mandans, and he may be justly recognized as the best of the various authorities.

Besides these more important chroniclers of the Mandans there is a group of minor authorities to whom something is due for an occasional fact. Most of these men have taken their accounts almost wholly from the above first-hand narratives, making in some cases small additions of their own. First in this group is Patrick Gass,[2] a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. With the exception of McKenzie and Larocque,[3] two Northwest Company men who tell us scarcely anything, he is the only one of the minor authorities who writes from personal observation. The others are men who have only condensed what has been gathered by reading, such are Schoolcraft,[4] Hayden,[5] and Matthews.[6]

172 361 The remains which form a basis for the archaeological section of the present paper are part of a single village site. There are numerous other sites of a similar type scattered from the Grand River in South Dakota, to the north side of the Knife River in North Dakota. These sites are attributed to two different tribes, the Mandans and the Arikara. We may first consider the remains which seem to be of Mandan origin.

The field in which these sites are found is restricted to an area along the Missouri River from a few miles south of Apple

[1] Voyage en l'Amerique du Nord. Paris, 1843.

[2] Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a corps of Discovery under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke. Philadelphia, 1812.

[3] Journals in Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Campagnie du Nord-Ouest, vol. II. Quebec, 1889.

[4] Op. cit., vol. III, pp. 245 et seq.

[5] Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. (N. S.), vol. XII, pp. 435 et seq.

[6] Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians. Washington, 1877.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Creek in Burleigh Co., North Dakota, to a point some fifteen miles south of the Knife River in Mercer Co., North Dakota, and this field is again subdivided into the historical and the more or less traditional sites. Of the former little will be said. They are the remains of villages which Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian, Catlin, and other early travellers visited, and are situated on the Missouri about fifteen miles below the Knife River. There is another small set of remains intermediate between the traditional and the historical, the stopping place between the former and the latter. These intermediate sites are on the south side of the Missouri on the bluffs southwest of Washburn, and are rather closely connected with several Arikara sites.

We are concerned here, however, with the oldest villages which were visited by only two white men who have left accounts, the Sieur de Verendrye, and McKenzie, whose account is mentioned by D. D. Mitchell in a letter to Schoolcraft. The question might be raised as to how it is known that the sites visited by Verendrye and McKenzie were the oldest ones. The statement of McKenzie that on his visit the Mandans lived in nine villages should suffice to establish this. According to all accounts, after the removal from the early sites the Mandans did not have at any time over five villages, and these soon shrank to even fewer. If McKenzie found nine villages in 1773 the Mandans must have been occupying the earlier sites, and certainly if they were there in 1773, they were very probably there in 1738. The further fact that Verendrye describes the Mandans as being in full power and prosperity shows also that they had as yet suffered none of the losses by disease and war which caused their removal to the later villages.

The location of these oldest Mandan sites comes up next for consideration. They were situated on the Missouri River near the Heart River, some above, some below, on both sides of the former, but the number of villages is uncertain. The location near the Heart is affirmed by all. Lewis and Clarke's Journal,[1] March 10, 1805, says, "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River." Maximilian[2] says, "After the first alliance with the

[1] Thwaites Edition, vol. I, p. 271. [2] Op. cit., p. 436.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172 Hidatsa, the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages at and above the Heart River."

175 361 The number of these ancient villages is a problem which it is impossible to settle definitely. Even an exact and thorough canvas of the ground cannot settle this, as changes of the river may have caused the entire disappearance of some sites. Historical and archaeological evidence alike leave one in doubt. Verendrye, who visited but one Mandan village, says, "I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river . . . . . much larger than the one we are in."[1] But further on he makes this additional statement, "We noticed that in the plain were several small forts of forty to fifty huts . . . . . but no one was there. . . . . The forts in the plains were occupied during the summer to work their fields . . . . . there was a large store of reserve grain there."[2] Next in point of time comes Lewis and Clarke's account, from which may be given three extracts. "These villages, nine in number are scattered . . . . . for twenty miles, ... almost all that remains of them is the wall surrounding them and the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses."[3] Again, "Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled . . . . in nine villages . . . . . about eighty miles below . . . . . seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two . . . . . wasting before the smallpox and the Sioux united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the seven to five . . . . . they immigrated . . . . . to the Ricara Nation . . . . ." Also,[4] "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) villages . . . four (six) on the west side, two (three) on the east. One of those on the east and the largest was entirely cut off by Sioux and smallpox."[5] Here is disagreement of the same authority both in the total number of villages and in the relative distribution on the two sides of the river.

Catlin is the next writer who gives a version of the tradition, and in his North American Indians[6] is the statement that the Mandans formerly lived down river in ten villages. Maximilian,

[1] Brymner: op. cit., p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 23. [3] Oct. 22, 1804.
[4] Nov. 21, 1804. [5] Mar. 10, 1805. Thwaites Edition, I, p. 271. [6] p. 51.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

who next claims attention, gives at least two different versions of the story. In one place[1] he makes the statement that the Mandans formerly lived in thirteen or more villages, each had a name and they distinguished themselves thus: 1. Pheasant Village, 2. Village of (the people of) the West, 3. Bear Village, 4. Badger Village, 5. Prickly Pear Village, 6. Village of the Sulky Ones, because they separated from part of their nation to come up the Missouri. Here is a notable discrepancy between the stated number of villages and the number of names given. In another place he states[2] that after the first alliance with the Hidatsa the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages: 1. The South Village, 2. The Greatest Village, 3. The Scattered Village, 4. The Littlest Village, 5. The Village of Those Who Turn Back, 6. The Village on the Hill, 7. The Village of Those Who Separate their Legs, 8. The Village of Those Who Tattoo Themselves.

Thus the authorities not only disagree with each other, but even vary their own statements. Verendrye says six and a number of smaller ones; McKenzie, nine; Lewis and Clarke, from six to thirteen, at various times. Through all of these accounts, nine seems to be the favorite number, but it might hardly be safe to fix it at that. Perhaps the discrepancy can best be accounted for by remembering Verendrye's story of the summer villages, and the fact that Maximilian speaks of villages in the woods occupied for a short time during the worst of the winter. Another factor which may have a bearing on the matter is the old tradition mentioned by Maximilian[3] that the Hidatsa lived near the Mandans for a few years after their arrival, and before moving up to the Knife River. Considering these facts together with the prevailing traditional number of nine, it might be concluded that at the time of residence on the Heart River there were nine actual fixed villages, and an uncertain number of smaller and less fixed camps. This can be only regarded as a hypothesis.

Archaeological evidence is also conflicting on this subject. Lewis and Clarke noted a number of the remains in passing, and probably a series of quotations from them will best bring out

[1] Op. cit., p. 378. [2] Ibid., p. 436. [3] Ibid., p. 435.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the points of location which should be emphasized. In Allen's Lewis and Clarke are the following entries:

"Oct. 19. 1804. We camped on the north opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills. . . . . Near to one of these moles on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain are the remains of an old village. . . . . "

"Oct. 20. After . . . . . twelve miles we encamped on the south at the upper part of a bluff . . . . . immediately below . . . . . are the remains of a village formerly occupied by the Mandans."

"Oct. 21. At two miles from our encampment . . . . . ruins of a second Mandan village . . . . . on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful . . . . . plain . . . . . nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south . . . . . another . . . . . two miles further on the north. At a distance of seven miles we encamped. . . . . "

"Oct. 22. We passed an old Mandan village on the south . . . . . at four miles another on the same side . . . . . at six we reached an island about one mile in length, at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins . . . . . at eight miles are remains of another Mandan village on the south."

Here is an actual description and more or less definite location of nine seemingly very noticeable village sites.

Maximilian's[1] notes on the subject come next with the following extracts: ". . . . a chain of hills called the mountains of the old Mandan village, for one of their villages had been where the river cuts the chain. . . . . It was at the foot of a chain of hills on a fine plain not far from the river. . . . . Here began the Mandan territory . . . . . [Later on same day] We cut wood near the mouth of Apple Creek."

"Next day we came in sight of Square Buttes. . . . . After eight hours we came to an old Mandan village on the right in the prairie."

The archaeological information collected by this party increases the uncertainty. No complete archaeological survey was attempted and the location of sites other than those personally visited will not be discussed. The accompanying map

[1] Op. cit., pp. 19 to 22.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(Map I)[1] marks roughly the sites as judged from the above extracts from Lewis and Clarke, and more accurately the sites which have been actually seen in the course of this investigation. The first site encountered in the above extracts is approximately on the south bank of Apple Creek above some round, clay buttes. This one was not visited. The second site is on the west side of the river at the base of the hill on which the infantry post of Fort Abraham Lincoln was formerly located. This site was examined, and it is accurately marked on the map. Of the next two sites one on the east and one on the west, but little can be said. The first certainly is on the outskirts of the present town of Mandan. The other one possibly has disappeared in the river. At all events, the only corroboration found, after having been over the country, is a small site on the point of a bluff about one mile above the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge over the Missouri. It is not so plain as the others, nevertheless on a cursory investigation and excavation by our party it showed signs of lengthy occupation. The next site mentioned by Lewis and Clarke is stated to be "two miles further on the north and a little off the river." Of this no trace has been found, unless it be that at the Sperry farm. This one is about five miles above the other site; it is on a bluff, bordering what was formerly a creek, and is about two miles from the river. In some respects this fills the requirements, in point of distance, however, it hardly fits with the account.

172 175 361

Of the locations of the three other villages on the west side of the river Lewis and Clarke's account does not furnish sufficiently accurate details, although a careful examination of the ground might make them clear. Only one more site is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke on the east, and this, it is believed, is the one where the excavations hereinafter described were made. This last site was by their reckoning about thirteen miles above their Fort Abraham Lincoln camp, at the head of an island. The site at which the excavation was carried on is probably fourteen miles north of their camp. It is at the head of a broad place in the river where there is a small island now. Mr. Burgois, who has lived in the neighborhood for a number of years, says that formerly the island was much

[1] [See facing p. 85, cat. 116 — Analyst]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172
175
361

larger. This is the only widening of the river where an island could form within the distance stated, and lastly the site is in a very conspicuous situation on the top of a hill. The earthworks are larger than is usual around the other sites, and in every respect the place is apt to attract the attention of any one passing up river.

At a distance of some three miles further up on the same side is another village site not quite as large. It is hidden now from the river by cottonwoods which have grown up in front of it; the site lies on the very edge of the first bench in a level plain. The finds there agree with those in the other places and it is very evidently a remnant of the same people. This gives four known sites on the east side.

On every hand thus it is evident that there is great uncertainty. The number of sites is far from certain. The sites cannot be absolutely identified even when historically described — neither locations nor distribution according with descriptions given. The fact that the Mandans have a tradition of the Hidatsa living near them for a while also adds to the confusion. But the tradition as given by Maximilian[1] states also that the Hidatsa were a roving people, and non-agricultural on their arrival. Consequently there would probably be little difficulty in distinguishing their sites. Moreover, the Hidatsa are supposed to have stayed there only four or five years, and then to have proceeded up to the Knife River.

One more phase of the location question remains to be discussed. The last disturbing feature in identifying the sites is the wandering of the Arikara who, as has been said, also left a number of village sites. It is probable, however, that the Heart River area was never occupied by them for any actual settlement. For this belief a number of reasons may be given. The Arikara are a branch of the Skidi Pawnee which split off through some quarrel and started off independently, reaching in the course of time the Missouri River and ascending it by stages. Their villages were stationary and much like the Mandans but none of them seem to have been as permanent as those of the latter. This fact offers one reason for supposing that such

[1] Op. cit., p. 435.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Heart River sites as were seen were not of Arikara origin, for the deposits in each place show a very long period of occupation. If the Arikara had just separated from the Pawnees at the time of Verendrye's visit, they certainly did not have time to accumulate such deposits before Lewis and Clarke came.

However, a brief consideration of what is known of their movements is still worth something though the evidence is negative. Verendrye[1] gives the following account of the Arikara: —

"At a day's journey from the last of these were the Panana . . . . . then the Panani. These two nations . . . were now at war for four years, had always . . . . been closely united . . . "

This extract seems to place the time of the separation at about 1734. The Arikara were seen in 1804 when Lewis and Clarke visited them, and at that time they lived in three villages at the mouth of the Grand River. On the way up, both on the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers old Arikara villages were noted and placed on the map. Later in 1812 Bradbury in the description of his journey says that they still occupied the Grand River site. However, during the period before Lewis and Clarke's arrival other moves had been made. Lewis and Clarke[2] state that after smallpox destroyed most of the Mandan nation, reducing them to one large and some small villages they moved up into the Arikara country where they lived many years in peace.

Alexander Henry[3] says that the Arikara and Mandans lived together in the same village thirty leagues down; they separated and the Arikara went down, the Mandans up till stopped by the Hidatsa.

Maximilian[4] states that thirty-seven years before, when Charboneau came, the Arikara lived on a point just above the largest Mandan village. After that they moved back down stream and the Mandans plundered their village.

The only point in all the above which seems to connect the Arikara with the Heart River sites is the statement by Henry that the two nations lived together at thirty leagues south. The circumstances of this seem to point to the site opposite Washburn, and it may be safe to consider his estimate of the

[1] Op. cit., 19.
[2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 334.
[3] Nov. 12, 1804.
[4] Op. cit., p. 338.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172 175 361

distance as an error in stating the story. The more so since details coincide with accounts of the Washburn site.

Reviewing the whole question of the Arikara's locations, there are:—a site on the Cheyenne River, one on the Moreau River, one on the Grand River, and one some fifty miles above the Heart River, near Washburn. In 1738 they were on or near the Grand, and there again in 1804. Maximilian says that before the smallpox the Mandans feared no one, but that the Arikara and the Cheyennes were their natural enemies. Taking into account the last statement and also the fact that during the period of sixty-six years the Arikara established such a number of villages, and, moreover, that the Mandan alliance with the Arikara is placed in all the traditions as after the fall of the Mandans. it may be safely stated that the Arikara are not responsible for any of the Heart River sites.

In the discussion the location and number of the sites has now been treated and there are points which should be emphasized. The only facts which are certain are that the Mandans formerly had at least six large villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River which were abandoned between 1772 and 1804, and that there are at least six old village sites which can still be located in that region. In addition there are the following which while not definitely proved, may be regarded as highly probable: that the Heart River sites are identical with the Mandan ones; that they cannot be attributed to the Hidatsa with any reason; and lastly that there is no proof for, and much circumstantial evidence against the belief that any of this group of sites is due to the Arikara. Details of culture, historical evidence, and archaeological finds, will reënforce belief in the mutual identity, and from now on all sites of the Heart River area will be considered as of Mandan origin.

3: Will and Spinden NQ 17 Mandan NQ17

172

[Additional information, specifically the section on the archaeology of the Burgois site, will be found in category 116, pp. 148-87.]